

Aspects of Cultic Ritual within early Philistia: Who are you calling a Philistine?

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Abstract: The origins of the people of Philistia, often equated with the biblical ‘Philistines’, has been a dominant interest in Palestinian archaeology, with much archaeological investigation being structured around the various issues associated with material culture and ethnicity. While the archaeological record has been used to support various hypotheses of cultural contact and development, there has been little attempt to understand the archaeological record of cult. Here the archaeological, and briefly the textual, data is examined in an effort to illuminate the cultic ritual practiced within Philistia during the early Iron Age.

Philistine Cultural Identity

Identifying a religious artifact within a component of the local culture must, in the first instance, recognise the parameters that define that same culture. Within archaeological literature numerous definitions of what is ‘Philistine’ abound,¹ the most influential being those of T. Dothan and A. Mazar. The initial archaeological identification of the biblical ‘Philistines’ was based primarily on the appearance of a new culture in southern Palestine during the early-twelfth century BCE; discerned by the ‘appearance’ of a locally-made, but Aegean inspired, pottery style known as Mycenaean IIIC:1b. This new ceramic tradition (Figure 1) and its subsequent derivative, so-called ‘Philistine Bichrome’ or red and black painted ware, came to be attributed to the biblical ‘Philistines’.²

Significantly, the geographical concentration of this distinct ceramic horizon generally corresponds with the biblical ‘land of the Philistines,’ (Joshua 13:2-3) namely the southern coastal plains of the southern Levant (Figure 2). This has led some archaeologists to conclude ‘Philistine’ presence from the identification of just a few ‘Philistine Bichrome’ sherds.³ Bunimovitz criticizes this approach as overly simplistic and as ‘taking for granted’ the connection between ‘Philistine’ pottery and their ethnic presence. He cites the somewhat incomplete repertoire of ‘Philistine’ ceramic types as evidence.⁴ All eighteen ceramic types are small serving and pouring vessels, i.e. ‘tableware’ (Dothan 1982:95). There is a conspicuous absence of kitchenware. The ‘Philistine’ ceramic assemblage, therefore, in order to be completed, must have included the use of local Canaan-

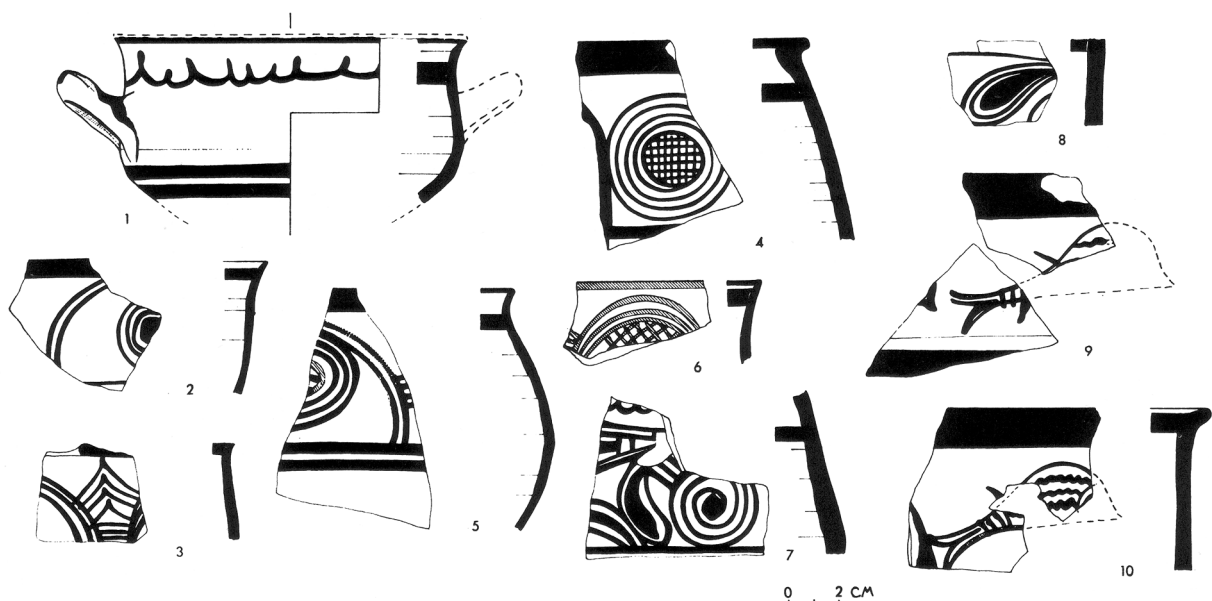


Figure 1: Local Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, Ashdod. (T. Dothan 1982:fig. 3, 40)

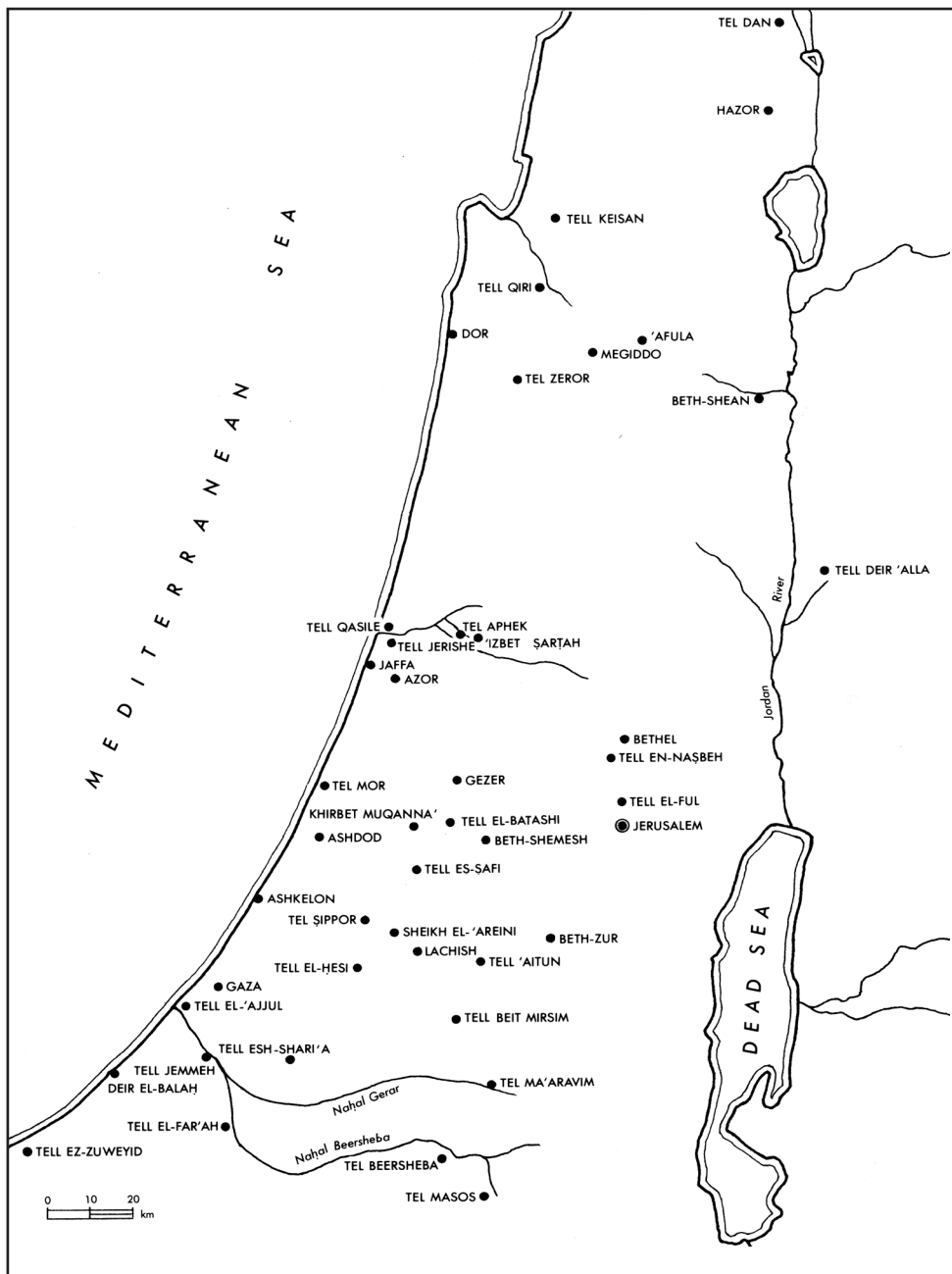


Figure 2: Palestine. Principal sites with some evidence of Philistine culture. (T. Dothan 1982:map 2, 26)

ite ceramic traditions. This led Bunimovitz to conclude that ‘Philistine’ pottery should be known as ‘Philistia’ pottery, as it is geographically rather than ethnically or culturally defined.⁵ But whilst it is obvious that ‘Philistine Bichrome’ has been grossly misused, there is no valid reason to discount the use of pottery in identifying cultural practices. The persistent association of a certain group of traits within a bounded geographical area is the one means archaeologists have for defining such practices.⁶ Furthermore, defining a cultural distinctiveness need not make any statement concerning that culture’s ethnicity, despite Stone’s suggestion to the contrary.⁷ Ultimately ‘Philistine Bichrome’ is indicative of a geographically-bounded distinctiveness of cultural practice.⁸ In this paper ‘Philistine’ does not refer to

an ethnic group, but to the distinct ceramic culture concentrated within biblical ‘Philistia.’ ‘Philistine Bichrome’ is an important feature of the local Iron Age culture and may be loosely identified as ‘Philistine’. As a result, the culture complex of ‘Philistia’ has been limited to sites with high concentrations of ‘Philistine Bichrome’, namely Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron (Tel Mique) and Tel Qasile.

Identifying cultic ritual in the archaeological record can be difficult. Many archaeologists suggest it is near impossible. Indeed, Hawkes (1954:161) has placed religious institutions and the spiritual life on the highest, most speculative rung of his ladder of inference. But I would suggest, in the words of Lord Renfrew, “that there is nothing inherently

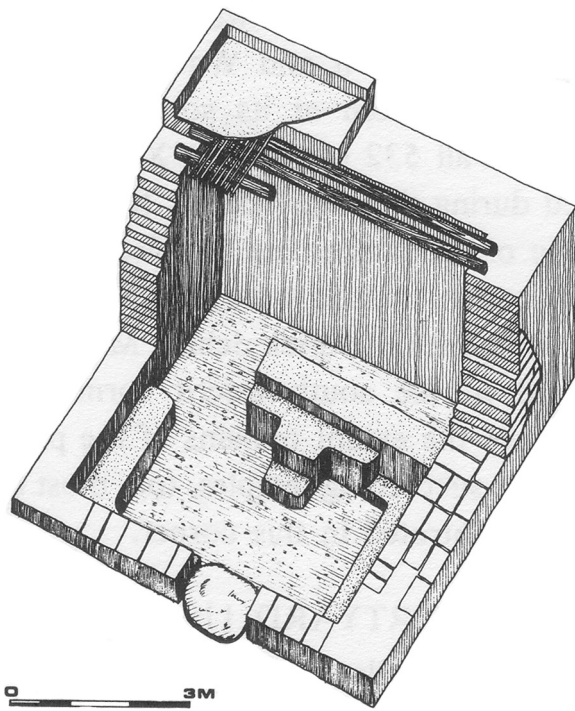


Figure 3: A possible reconstruction of Temple 319, Tel Qasile, Stratum XII. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 5)

obscure or problematic about [Hawkes’] fourth category.”⁹ Briefly stated, religious ideology (belief) manifests itself through the practical matrix of ritual, which in turn affects the physical record and can be archaeologically assessed.

Cultic Architecture

Considering the few ‘Philistine’ sites excavated, the repertoire of cultic architecture is accordingly quite small. Examples excavated so far include three successive temples at Tel Qasile, a small shrine and two cult rooms at Ekron, and the open-air shrine and apsidal building at Ashdod. Nonetheless, the blending of several religious architectural traditions (Canaanite, Cypriot) does reveal the syncretistic nature of local religion.

Tel Qasile

Situated on the Yarkon River in the northern frontier-zone of Philistia proper, Tel Qasile was, unlike the cities of the pentapolis, founded by the people of the ‘Philistine’ culture. Three buildings (131, 200 and 319) have been identified by the excavator (Mazar, 1973a) as ‘Philistine’ temples, or, more accurately, the continued remodelling of one temple over a period of time. Superimposed upon each other, these three buildings follow successive occupational phases of the site; Strata XII-X, with each differing significantly from its predecessor. Periodically the building was rebuilt, enlarged eastward and the entrance altered,

though, significantly, the western wall and holy-of-holies remained fixed.

The earliest temple (319) was a small (6.4 x 6.6 m) symmetrical one-room mud-brick structure with a central raised platform, or bamah, bench-lined walls, non-right-angled corners and a direct entrance (Figure 3). Building 319 belongs to Stratum XII, Tel Qasile’s initial settlement phase (late 12th cent. BCE). Its significance is supported by an abundance of complete vessels found on its floor, a phenomenon rare in this phase (Mazar, A 1985a: fig.7). The building’s attention-focusing architecture (symmetry, central bamah, direct access, raised benches) and later use of this space for cultic practice indicate that this is a temple.

The subsequent Temple 200 of Stratum XI (early 11th cent. BCE) is a larger building (Figure 4).¹⁰ The exterior walls were upgraded to undressed kurkar stone and extended eastward (8 x 8.5 m) to allow for the inclusion of an interior partition. The resulting partitioned room was apparently the treasury, as indicated by the rich assemblage recovered therein. Plastered mud-brick benches still lined the interior walls and the bamah remained a central feature. The entrance, however, was shifted to the northeast corner. As in Stratum XII, a large open courtyard (281) extended east of the temple. Situated within Courtyard 281, northeast of Temple 200, a cultic depository, or favissa 125 was excavated. Important cultic vessels deposited here, among others, include the anthropomorphic breast-spout vessel (Figure 5), a lion-headed cup (Figure 6) and zoomorphic mask fragments.¹¹ Shrine 300, which essentially consisted of a small bench-lined cella, was also added to the western exterior of Temple 200 (Figure 4). Much of the building’s architecture was again designed to focus one’s

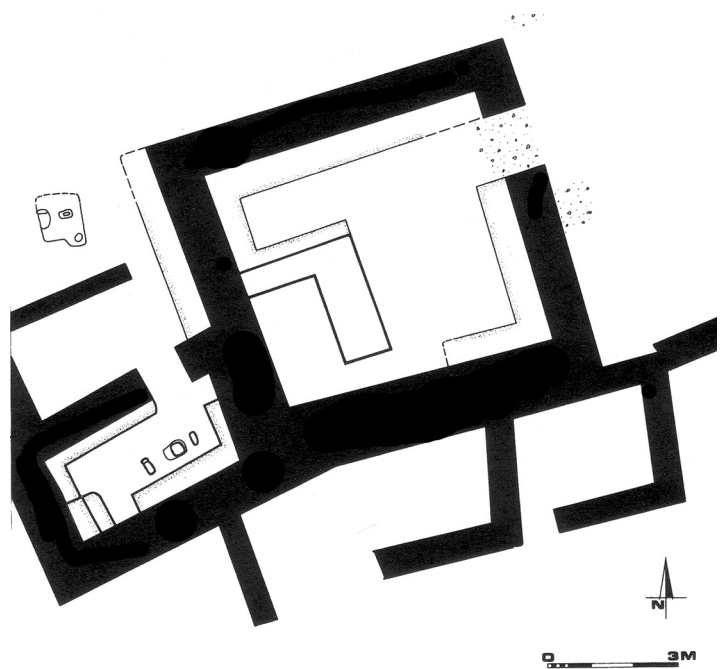


Figure 4: Schematic plan of Temple 200 and Area C, Tel Qasile Stratum XI. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 6)

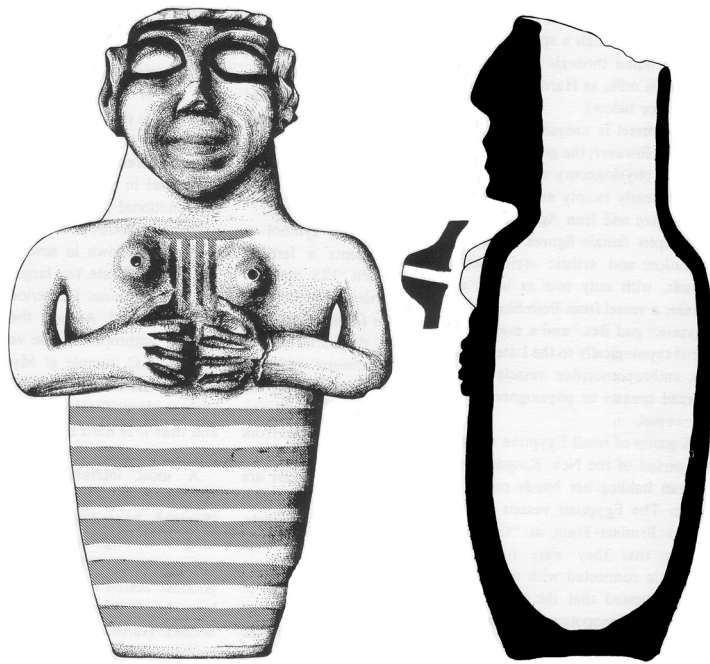


Figure 5: Female anthropomorphic vessel, Tel Qasile Favissa 125. (A Mazar 1980:fig. 18)

attention inward, while the indirect bent-axis helped protect the sacred interior from the casual glance of the profane, external world. The significant yield of cult stands and cult bowls therein clearly confirm the cultic function of this enlarged complex.

Temple 131, the largest of the three, once again significantly departed from the layout of its predecessor.¹² The Stratum X (mid to end 11th cent. BCE) temple was no longer a single cella with partitioned treasury, but had added a bent-axis antechamber (separate entrance), distinct treasury and two functional pillars set along the cella's centre axis (Figure 7). Of the few biblical references to temples in 'Philistia', Judges 16:29 recalls a two-pillared cella reminiscent of Temple 131, though the biblical Temple of Gaza appears much larger than Temple 131. Significantly, the bamah and entrance lay on a separate axis to that of the pillars, so that an unobstructed view of the bamah from the entrance hall was maintained, though once again it could not be disrespectfully viewed from outside. The concentration of pottery and rare cult vessels (cult stands, lion-headed cup) found in the vicinity of the bamah leaves little doubt as to this feature's significance. The rich pottery assemblage recovered from the back room suggests this was where the temple treasury lay. During this phase the exterior court was enlarged to an area of 100 sq. m. and, for the first time, included a sacrificial altar.¹³ The accumulation of ash, bones and burnt potsherds in this courtyard imply intensive sacrificial activity. The small shrine to the west remained relatively unchanged, despite the addition of its own courtyard.

Although building remains above Stratum X were scanty, A. Mazar believes that enough evidence exists to indicate that the temple was rebuilt again in Stratum IX (10th cent. BCE) and used into Stratum VIII (9th cent. BCE). However there is a distinct absence of cultic vessels within these strata, and may be indicative of lessened cultic activity.¹⁴ Does this suggest that domestic religion was a more popular alternative during the later periods.

Tel Qasile's three Iron Age I temples generally lack uniformity despite their successive reconstruction upon the same site. Such variation within a site is unusual. Mazar interprets this as reflecting an ill-defined Philistine architectural tradition, though Bunimovitz prefers to associate the variation with the flourishing expansion of the site.¹⁵ Nevertheless, despite the apparent inconsistency, some principles of planning are retained throughout the three successive phases. Firstly, none of these temples were monumental; each was a small building of only average size. Secondly, these temples were not freestanding; they were instead attached and integrated into the town-plan. Thirdly, each temple maintained the same west-southwest orientation and loca-

tion of the bamah. Each bamah was, despite variation in layout, visible from the entrance, though not necessarily visible from outside. And finally, each successive cella, though different in size, maintained similar proportions and was lined with plastered benches.

A survey of Late Bronze and Iron Age Canaanite temples reveals a distinct tradition of monumental, freestanding symmetrical buildings; aspects absent at Tel Qasile. Instead

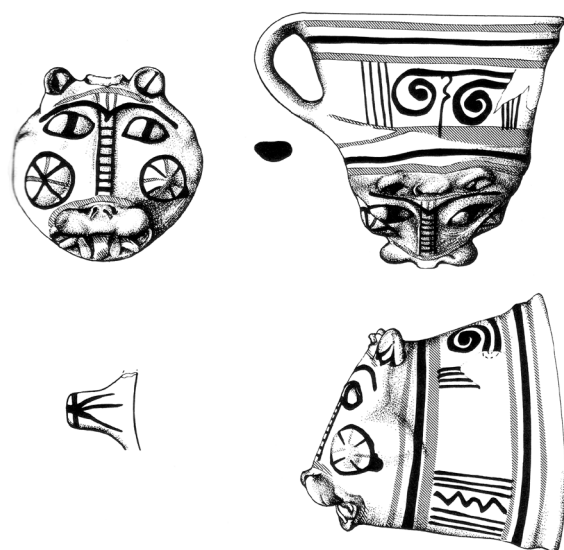


Figure 6: Lion-headed cup, Tel Qasile Favissa 125. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 34)

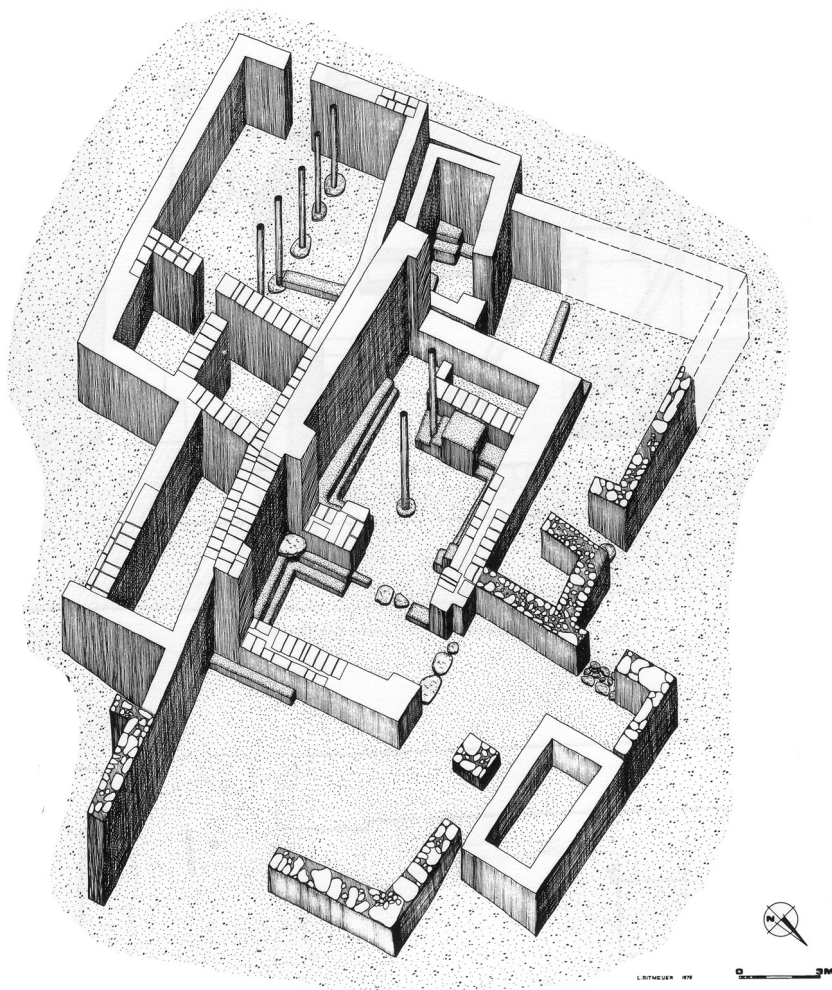


Figure 7: Axonometric view of Temple 131 and Area C, Tel Qasile Stratum X. (A. Mazar 1992b:fig. 8.10)

scholars have cited the Aegean as inspiration.¹⁶ However, on closer analysis, some parallels do exist within ‘Canaanite’ and Cypriote traditions. The characteristically symmetrical plan and direct approach of Temple 319 resemble Hazor’s Area C Temple, despite differing floor plans.¹⁷ The off-centre/corner entrance of Temple 200 is also evidenced in Canaan, - at Lachish, Tel Mevorach and Beth Shean; as well as Cyprus - at Kition and Enkomi.¹⁸ The deliberate burial of important artefacts in a temple *favissa* is well known from Canaanite, Syrian and Hittite contexts, but not Aegean.¹⁹ Temple 131’s two functional pillars also has several parallels, though their arrangement along the cella’s long centre axis is restricted in Canaan to the Lachish Fosse II and enigmatic Jaffa Lion temples. Non-Canaanite examples include the Mycenae, Phylakopi, Enkomi and Kition temples.²⁰ The bent-axis entrance of Temple 131 and Shrine 300 is a common feature in Mesopotamian temples of the third millennium BCE, but is rare during the second millennium.²¹ The Lachish and Mycenae temples are the closest parallels, but are similar in principle only and not actual layout. A distinctive and unusual aspect of Tel Qasile’s temples is the

attaching of a subsidiary shrine (300) to a major temple (200, 131 successively), a feature unparalleled in the Near East. Mycenaean and Cypriot parallels exist, the most obvious examples being Phylakopi’s West and East Shrines and Kition’s sacred area.²² The benches lining the inner walls of the Tel Qasile temples are characteristic of Levantine, Cypriot and Aegean temples, as is the treasury evidenced in Temples 200 and 131.²³ The *bamah*, however, is essentially a Levantine tradition and is rarely found in the Aegean.²⁴

From the evidence it appears that Tel Qasile’s earliest temple/s primarily reflect local Canaanite traditions and, interestingly, very little Aegean influence. Indeed, it is the latter temples that bear closest resemblance to Aegean/Cypriot examples, though this is likely the result of Levantine influence upon the west, not vice versa.²⁵ Obviously not related to the monumental symmetrical temples of Canaan, the two later Tel Qasile ‘irregular’ temples do reflect a ‘rogue’ Canaanite temple tradition.²⁶ These sanctuaries, though continually rebuilt on the same site, usually display considerable variation in layout. In short, they consistently lack consistency. Canaanite temples with non-monumental, irregular plans include the Lachish Fosse II and III,

Tel Mevorach, Tel Qasile 131 and 200, Tel Abu-Hawam Stratum IV and Beth Shean Northern Stratum V Temples.

Regarding the nature of ritual performed in the Tel Qasile temples, little can be ascertained with any degree of certainty. The abundant benches were used for the placement of offerings, as confirmed by the many pottery vessels found in situ. The courtyard altar and its accompanying ash and bones further imply an emphasis on ritual offerings. The significant height and central positioning of the *bamah*, along with its visual alignment with the entrance, indicate the *bamah* was a central feature of ritual activities. The fixed location of this feature within the three successive temples meant the ritual point of focus was maintained.

The modest dimensions of Tel Qasile’s temples imply that, rather than an elaborate public ritual being performed, the interior was the abode of an associated deity. This interpretation is accepted by A. Mazar, who adds that if Temples 200 and 131 are considered the main abode of the deity, Shrine 300 housed either a secondary deity or the main god’s spouse.²⁷ The identity of the deity worshipped



Figure 8: Ashdoda figurine, Ashdod Stratum XII. (M. Dothan 1971a: fig. 91.1)

at Tel Qasile, however, is not known, though there is a possible clue from an ostrakon found by B. Mazar on the Tell's surface. The reference on the sherd to 'Beth Horon' may be an allusion to the temple/abode of the Canaanite god Horon.²⁸ Attempting to identify the Beth Horon of this fragmentary, unstratified ostrakon with a Tel Qasile temple is, however, problematic. An alternative is to associate these temples with the fertility goddess symbolized by the anthropomorphic breast-spout vessel (Figure 5) that is before she fell out of favour and was ritually disposed of. Nevertheless, no distinct cult images have been recovered from Tel Qasile and any attempt to identify the god/ess worshipped there is inconclusive.

Ekron

Situated on the western edge of the Inner Coastal Plain the site of Tel Miqne has been identified with the biblical site of Philistine Ekron. Excavation of the site uncovered three successive shrine-like structures with very little alteration

across their two centuries of use (Strata VII-V; 12th and 11th cents BCE).²⁹ While the plastered floor, benches and platform only suggest a cultic context, the animal and human figurines, lion-headed cup, incised bovine scapula and miniature votive vessel are clear confirmation of the area's purpose.

In addition, Stratum V of Field IV revealed a well-planned monumental building (351), possibly multiple-storied, that served as a public administration or palatial centre.³⁰ The central feature of Building 351 was the large elongated hall with its three superimposed hearths, which continued in use throughout three successive phases. Clearly the hearth is significant. This room's impressive entrance, massive construction and focus 'around' this feature imply the hearth played a prominent attention-focusing role. A concentration of ash and bones on and around the hearth suggests sacrificial activities. Sunken hearths like the Ekron examples are uncommon in Canaan - they are instead an Aegean, Cypriot and Anatolian feature.³¹ Pillars situated on the long axis of the 'hearth room' reflect Tel Qasile's Temple 131, but more closely some Cypriot and Mycenaean examples. The incorporation of pillars and hearth has particularly close parallels in Cyprus, where this hearth-type featured prominently in combined religious and civic centres.³²

The second phase of this building (350) witnessed the addition of three subsidiary rooms to the east of the hearth, hereafter called the northern, middle and southern rooms. Numerous loom-weights recovered from the northern room suggest the presence of weaving activities, possibly associated with the clothing of priests or even the cult statue. The middle room contained a stepped bamah, similar to other Canaanite and Cypriot examples,³³ as well as the remains of an ivory-handled knife and cast-bronze mobile cult-stand, all of which imply cultic/sacrificial activity. The southern room also revealed a knife, a complete bimetallic example, and a small plastered altar in its northwest corner. The cultic connotation of the latter two rooms is undoubtedly strong, continuing into the next phase despite the hearth becoming less prominent. The eventual abandonment of the hearth and continued cultic use of the southern two subsidiary rooms, and their bamot, indicates the hearth's fall from prominence within cultic activities, possibly as a result of its true Aegean and Anatolian significance being lost with time. If Building 350 is indeed a temple it is tempting to associate it with the biblical temple of 'Baal Zebub' at Ekron (2 Kings 1:2-16), though such an interpretation is unwarranted.

Ashdod

In the earliest of Ashdod's 'Philistine' phases (Stratum XIII; early 12th cent. BCE) an open-air shrine was discovered on the tell's northern edge. The structure consists primarily of a plastered-brick altar and round pillar base, which appear to have been used sacrificial activity as indicated by the pillar's blackened surface and numerous bones.³⁴ The

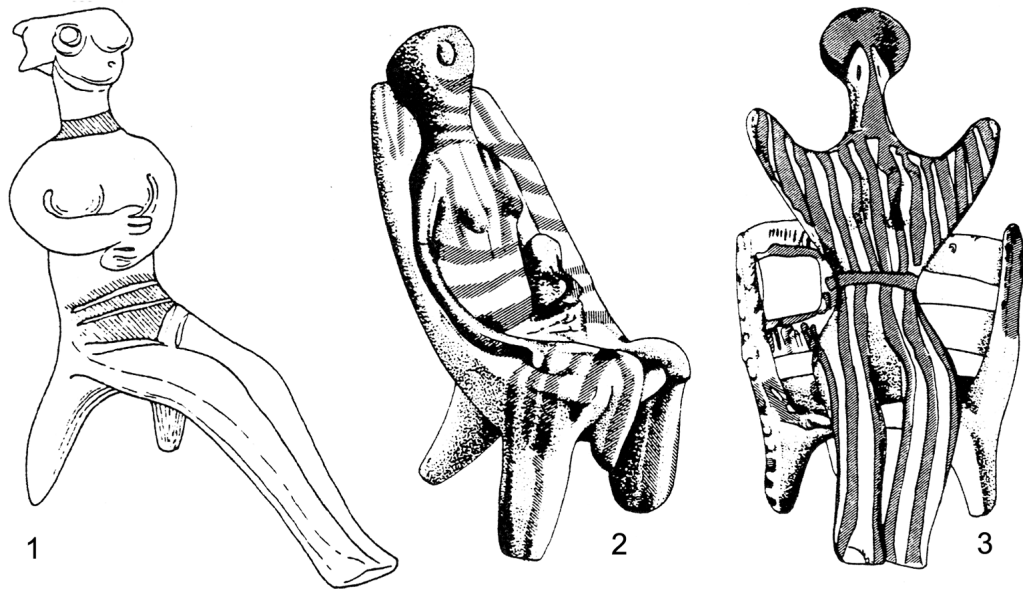


Figure 9: 1 Seated Cyprriot figurine. (Sandars 1978:fig. 116.) 2 Seated Mycenaean figurine with child. (Mylonas 1956:pl. XV:7) 3 Seated Mycenaean figurine. (Mylonas 1956:pl. XIII)

elevation of both features also implies a desire for directing activity around/toward them. That this shrine is open to the elements implies the worship of a nature or weather god/dess here, the local Canaanite storm-god, Baal a possible candidate.

Another cultic structure uncovered at Ashdod is the unique Stratum XII (mid 12th cent. BCE) Apsidal Building from Area H.³⁵ This building, of which no other parallel exists prior to the eighth century BCE, consists of a semi-circular brick-wall laid around a rectangular platform. The structure is identified as cultic primarily because of its unique, attention-directing architecture, indeed a circular wall is ideal for focusing one's attention to a point. The extraordinary artefacts found therein, particularly the complete Ashdoda figurine (Figure 8), strengthen the cultic association.³⁶ The large quantity of burned grain found near and on the platform, originally interpreted as a silo by the excavator, implies sacrificial activity.³⁷ The fragmentary architectural plan of this building prevents any comparative study. Nevertheless, the identification of a cult structure at Ashdod recalls biblical reference to Ashdod's Temple of Dagon, a chief male deity of the Canaanite pantheon also known from Mari, Ugarit and Ebla (1 Samuel 5:1-8). The Dagon association, however, is problematic considering only a female goddess, Ashdoda, was found here. Instead, scholars have preferred to place the Dagon Temple much later, after the Aegean influenced Ashdoda goddess was abandoned for the local Canaanite male deities.³⁸ But, this is also problematic since Ashdoda figurines persist well into the eighth century, over three hundred years after Ashdod's adoption of Dagon as chief deity. It appears, therefore, that both of these deities were worshipped simultaneously.

Ashkelon

Excavations at Ashkelon have recovered an Early Iron Age (12th cent. BCE) monumental building with possible cultic associations.³⁹ Its large stone column-drums and floor plan are similar to the temples of Ekron, Tel Qasile and Ashdod, though further discussion of its nature awaits the results of current excavations. Could this building eventually be recognised as being dedicated to Athtorati, the fish-bodied patron goddess of Ashkelon?⁴⁰

Overall apparent cultic architecture survives at Ashdod, Tel Qasile and Ekron, and possibly Ashkelon. Despite the clear cultic nature of these buildings, none can be definitively associated with specific deities. The one exception is Ashdod's apsidal structure, probably associated with the Ashdoda goddess, though her ancient name eludes us. Other 'Philistine' temples are known from biblical sources: Temples to Dagon at Gaza and Ashdod, and possibly Ekron and Gath where statues of Dagon prominently displayed. The one biblical reference to a Philistine priesthood (1 Samuel 5) refers to priests associated with Ashdod's Temple of Dagon and their rather peculiar practice of leaping on or over the temple threshold (1 Samuel 5:4-5; Zephaniah 1:9). Classical sources also mention Philistine gods and associated temples, such as Astarte at Ashkelon and Marna at Gaza, though, as yet, neither have been archaeologically identified.⁴¹ Nevertheless there is a distinct cultic architectural tradition within Philistia, one profoundly influenced by local, Aegean and Cyprriot temples.

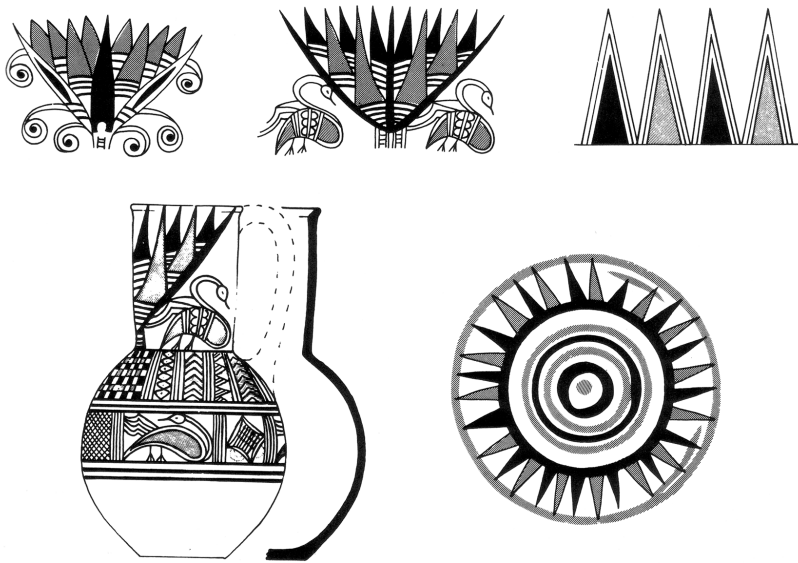


Figure 10: Stylized lotus motif. (T. Dothan 1982: figs 48, 50, pp. 176-7)

Cultic equipment

Taken on its own, architecture can reveal only limited detail of cult. In turn, this must be supplemented with contextual analysis of artefacts, ritual paraphernalia. Indeed, the identification of cultic architecture is often reliant on the types of artefacts found within the same context, and vice versa. Context is the key. Only by fully appreciating the relationships within a context can an archaeologist avoid the error of circular logic. Too often are artefacts termed cultic because of context, which, in turn, is termed cultic because of those same artefacts. And so, rather than be created, context must be confirmed through spatial analyses.⁴² Inevitably, cult cannot be explicitly proven or disproved, but only the degree, or probability, of its presence established. As a result cult is archaeologically identified by analysis of both architecture (see above) and equipment (following discussion).

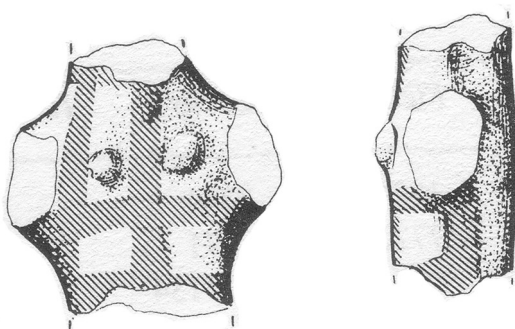


Figure 11: Fragment of goddess with upraised arms, Ashdod unstratified. (Dothan and Porath 1982: fig. 34.2)

Humanoid Figurines

Probably the most distinctive Philistine cultic artifact is the so-called Ashdoda figurine (Figure 8). Found at Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Tel Qasile,⁴³ this figurine-type is often considered indicative of cult in Philistia. The form of this obviously female figurine is unique; the body blending into the four-legged throne on which she rests, with head and neck rising above the chair back. The schematic seated female is considered an abstract depiction of an enthroned goddess, often suggested to be the Aegean 'mother goddess.'⁴⁴ Noteworthy are the markedly different contexts of Ashdoda and the Mycenaean seated goddesses, the latter being found primarily in grave contexts. The non-funerary context of Ashdoda figurines implies a very different understanding of a seminally Aegean goddess. Nonetheless, Ashdoda's decorative exterior, the distinctive bichrome paint on white-slip, is definitively local in execution. Nevertheless, reclining female figurines are common to the Aegean (Figure 9), despite Ashdoda's Egyptian and Canaanite stylistic influences.⁴⁵ Ashdoda's stylized spreading headdress and bird-like facial features have Mycenaean parallels, as does her horizontal bands on torso and neck. However, Mycenaean reclining goddesses are manufactured separately from their thrones, or at least have a distinctively formed body, and only ever have three-legged thrones. One unpainted Cypriot example has a more stylistic merging of throne and goddess, but ultimately remains primarily a goddess-body with chair legs. Ashdoda, on the other hand, is essentially a four-legged chair with head, breasts and no arms, apart from the Tel Qasile example which is related to the Mycenaean mother goddess nursing a baby.⁴⁶ Fertility goddesses are well attested in Palestine and are possibly the original inspiration behind Greek mother goddess figurines. The form of Ashdoda's throne is similar to four-legged offering tables common throughout Palestine and is probably a direct descendant of

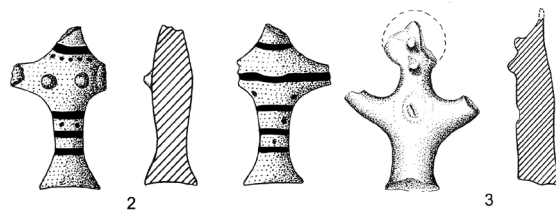
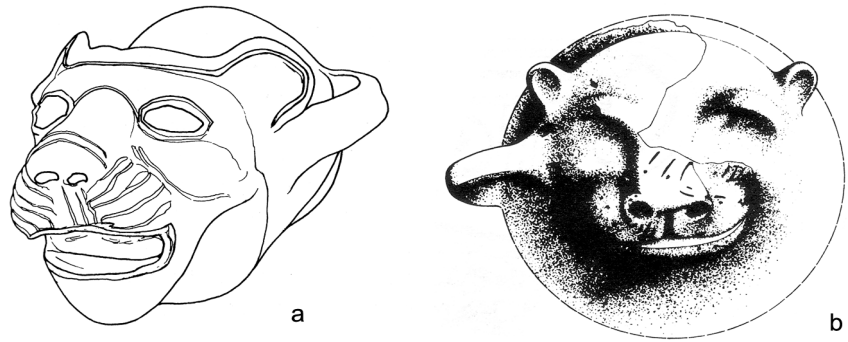


Figure 12: Minoan goddess with upraised arms, Enkomi. (Dikaios 1969a:pls 170.2-3)

Figure 14: Lion-headed cups with realistic features:
a) Ugarit, b) Tel Zeror,
(Zevulun 1987:figs. 7 & 14)



the Palestinian miniature offering tables found in plentiful supply throughout Philistia.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Egyptian influences can be clearly seen in Ashdoda's elongated triangular patterning, considered to be a schematic depiction of the Egyptian lotus flower motif (Figure 10).⁴⁸ Ashdoda, therefore, borrows only minimally from Aegean figurines and is instead a blend of Egyptian, Aegean and local Canaanite traditions. It is possible that Ashdoda represents a goddess worshipped at Ashdod, but her eclectic heritage makes it unlikely that she specifically represents the Aegean mother goddess. More plausibly, Ashdoda represents a local fertility goddess, though her lack of genitalia is a problem. If indeed Ashdoda is a representation of a local goddess, interestingly

the biblical record makes reference to only male Philistine gods (Judges 16: 23; 1 Samuel 5:2-7; 2 Kings 1:2-16).

The second cultic figurine-type from Philistia is the 'mourning woman,' or 'goddess with upraised arms' (Figure 11). While the figurines' pose, hands placed on head, is paralleled in Aegean mourning figurines, these are stylistically very different to Mycenaean examples. The relatively few examples from Philistia's Iron Age are from distinctly non-funerary contexts and therefore cannot be considered equivalent to their Aegean counterparts.⁴⁹ Instead, the figurines are paralleled by the Late Bronze Age Minoan 'goddess with uplifted arms' from Cyprus and Crete (Figure 12).⁵⁰ Thus, this figurine type is unlikely to be associated with 'Philistine' mourning customs (T. Dothan 1982: 237-249), but with the Cypro-Minoan 'goddess with uplifted arms,' adopted much earlier by the local population.

Despite the archaeological prominence of female figurines at Philistine sites, Ashdod has yielded a few figurines that have been interpreted as male (Figure 13).⁵¹ Interestingly all of these male figurines belong to first millennium BCE contexts, leading some to conclude that they signify the eventual adoption of the predominantly-male local pantheon. However, such a theory assumes that the Iron Age culture of Philistia is not local. Moreover, it is not clear that these figurines are male, even less deities. One example is (male?) figurine playing an instrument, most likely representing a lyre. Parallels are known from Cyprus (Young et al 1955: pl. 4:120-121) and Crete (Nilsson 1950: 109-110) where lyre-playing was associated with ritual music and though this is probably not a deity, it is plausibly an allusion to the use of music within local ritual. A conoid seal depicting a man playing a lyre recovered from Ashdod further support this interpretation (Dothan 1971a: fig 76.1).

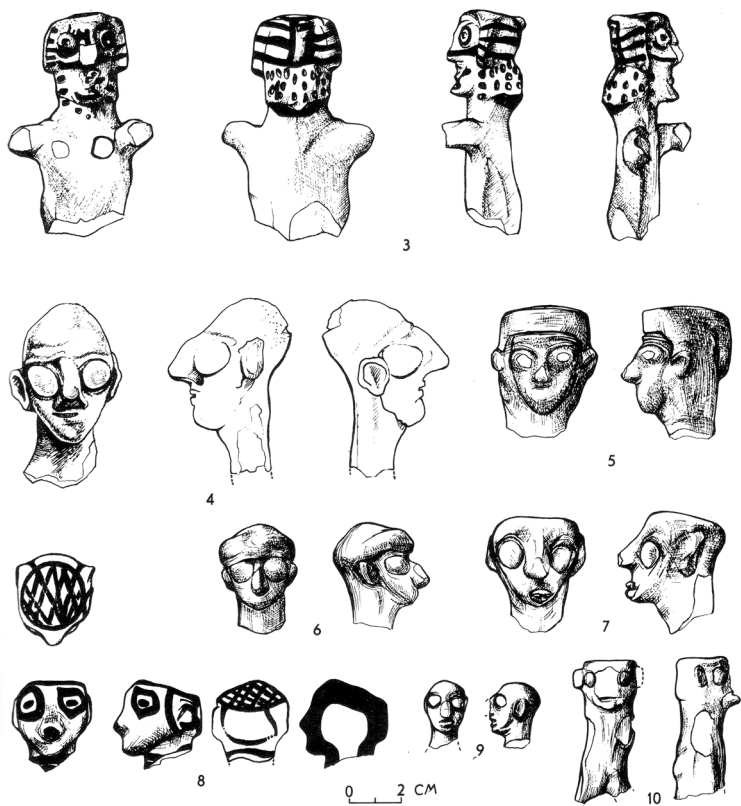


Figure 13: Male figurines, Ashdod. (M. Dothan 1971a:figs 62.3-10)



Figure 15: Ceremonial scene on ivory plaque, Megiddo. (Zevulun 1987:fig. 11)

Libation vessels

Another prominent aspect of cult in Philistia is libation and the ritual handling of liquids, as evidenced by spouted vessels, ritual cups and various fertility symbols. Recovered from Tel Qasile's Favissa 125, a unique and alluring female anthropomorphic vessel with breast spouts (Figure 5) is undoubtedly a cultic libation vessel (A. Mazar 1980: 78). Primarily consisting of a tall cylindrical wheel-made body c. 32.5 cm tall, the female features of this unique vessel were modelled through the application of clay to torso and face, most notably the breasts that doubled as libation spouts. Despite the Mazar's suggestion that this vessel has no Levantine parallels, a pierced breast vessel is known from Beth Shemesh (Grant 1931), other examples similar in concept are known from Egypt (Hornblower 1929: 44), Mycenae (Taylour 1970: pl. XLa) and Crete (Nilsson 1950: 149). By the very nature of the spouts, the type of liquid poured out was important. Milk could signify nurturing, fertility, abundance and Mother Nature, while blood would be much more sinister. Nevertheless, this vessel is clearly cultic because of the strong symbolism associated with breasts and libation, not to mention its recovery from favissa 125.

Despite the limited repertory of anthropomorphic vessels, there is an abundance of zoomorphic libation vessels. Ritual cups in the shape of lions' heads have been found at both Tel Qasile (Figure 10) and Ekron (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 34; T. Dothan 1995:fig. 3.10). These cups have been erroneously referred to as Greek rhyta (T. Dothan 1990:28), though they each have no libation spout; a true rhyton is a vessel with two openings, one for pouring in liquid and another for pouring it out (Zevulun 1987:n. 2). Another libation vessel from Tel Qasile, known as the 'zoomorphic trick vase', is the closest example of a rhyton from Philistia (A.Mazar 1980:fig 36). While the trick-vase does have two holes, it is stylistically unique and difficult to parallel. Nevertheless, Zevulun has conclusively demonstrated that the Philistine zoomorphic cups are modelled along Near Eastern sculptural traditions with no trace of Aegean influence. Aegean rhyta are usually metal or stone (Nilsson 1950), but the Philistia cups are, in accordance

with the above, they are usually made of clay or terracotta. The Philistia cups are, in accordance with the above, they are usually made of clay or terracotta. The Philistia cups are, in accordance with the above, they are usually made of clay or terracotta.

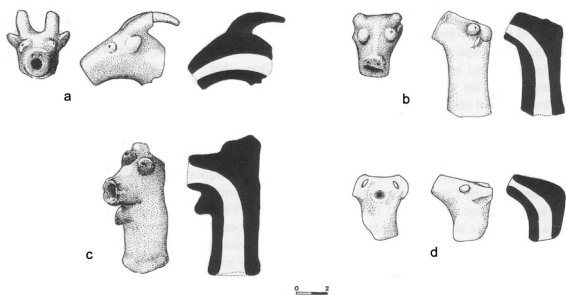


Figure 16: Zoomorphic spouts, Tel Qasile. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 41)

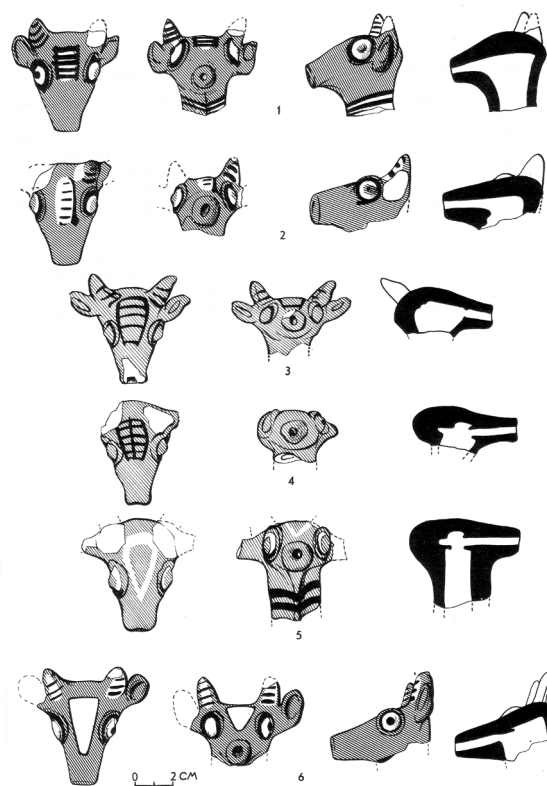


Figure 17: Bull-headed spouts, Ashdod.(M. Dothan 1971a:fig. 69)

with most Iron Age Levantine examples, ceramic. The two ceramic Levanto-Helladic rhyta from Ugarit are exceptions, but they are rigidly Mycenaean in decoration with their overall design very unique (Zevulun 1987:fig 6). The stylised ‘roaring’ features of the Philistia lion cups (mouth open, fangs bared and protruding tongue) again follow Near Eastern artistic tradition, as does the palm tree motif applied to the Tel Qasile cup’s handle. T. Dothan (1982:229-234) has divided Canaanite zoomorphic cups into two different types: those modelling natural/realistic features (Figure 14), and those with abstract/naïve features (Figure 6). The Tel Qasile and Ekron cups are examples of abstract design. The function of these zoomorphic cups is primarily cultic; the Tel Qasile cup was found in favissa 125 beside the female anthropomorphic vessel and other cultic items. Indeed, most Canaanite zoomorphic cups are found within temple contexts. Perhaps most important is the depiction of a Canaanite cup on a Megiddo ivory (Figure 15) and an Ugaritic alabaster vessel (Zevulun 1987:fig 10), both displaying clear ritual ceremonies. The dedicatory inscription to a Canaanite god on a naïve style Ugaritic cup (Zevulun 1987:fig 9) is further confirmation of their ritual use. These zoomorphic cups are clearly a Levantine cultic tradition.

Most, if not all, of the many animal-headed spouts recovered from Tel Qasile (Figure 16), Ashdod (Figure 17) and Ekron belong to ring vessels known as kernoi.⁵² The kernos is a hollow pottery ring, usually under 10 inches in diameter, upon which zoomorphic spouts are set in communication with the hollow ring (Figure 18). Some Near Eastern kernoi have a combination of animals, jars and pomegranates set along the ring (all common fertility symbols), but the Philistia kernoi appear to be exclusively zoomorphic. The animals featured include goats and gazelles, birds, and the abundant bulls. How exactly the kernos was used remains uncertain, though conceivably liquid was poured into the

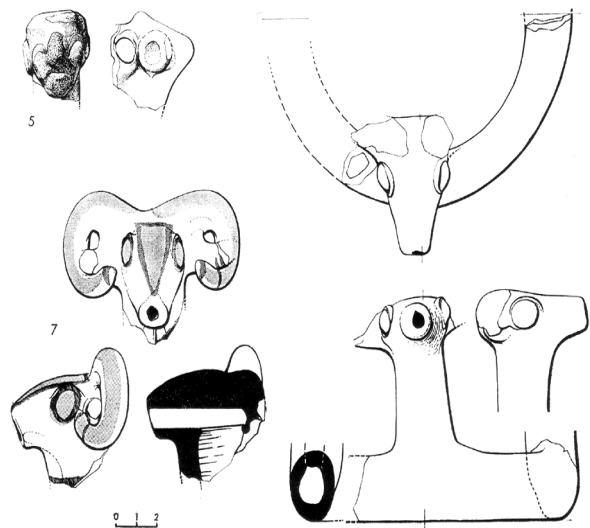


Figure 18: Zoomorphic spouts, Ashdod. (Dothan and Freedman 1967:figs 47.6-7)

hollow ring, shaken up and poured out in the course of religious ritual. The origin is still debated, with the Aegean (T. Dothan 1982:224) and the Ancient Near East (Furumark 1941:67-70). However, kernoi are rare amongst Mycenaean tradition while relatively common in second millennium BCE Cypro-Palestine (Nilsson 1950:113-120; Demetriou 1989:41-42). Therefore, they appear to be borrowed from non-Aegean ritual traditions.

Closely related to the kernos is the so-called ‘hollow-rim bowl’, or kernos-bowl, from Tel Qasile’s Temple 131 (Figure 19). Hosting both an internal and external zoomorphic (bull) spout, it is similar in design to one found at Beth-Shemesh (Figure 20), though the Tel Qasile example

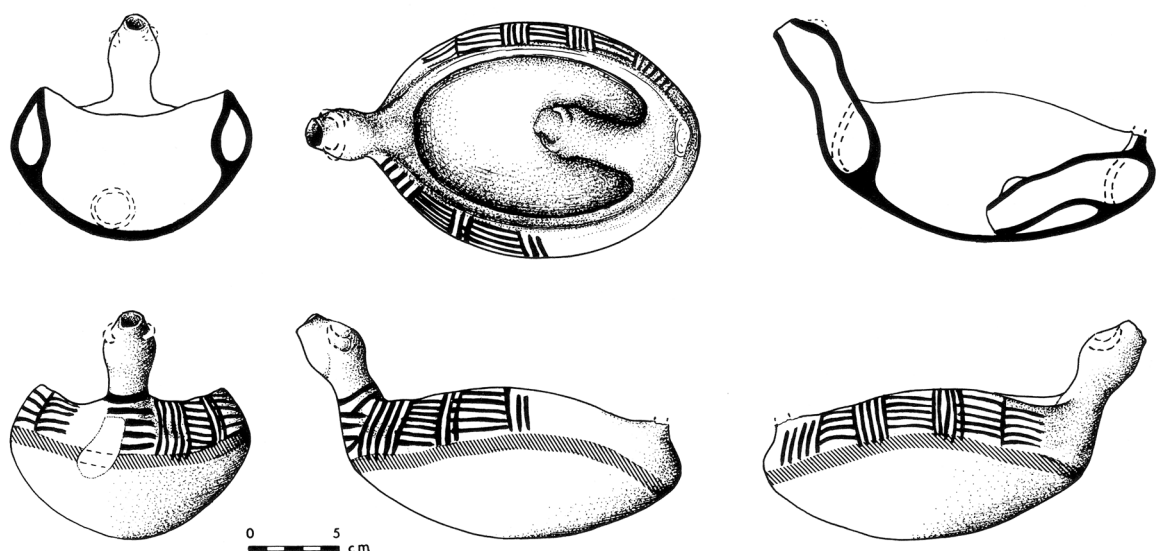


Figure 19: Kernos-bowl, Tel Qasile Stratum X. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 39.a)

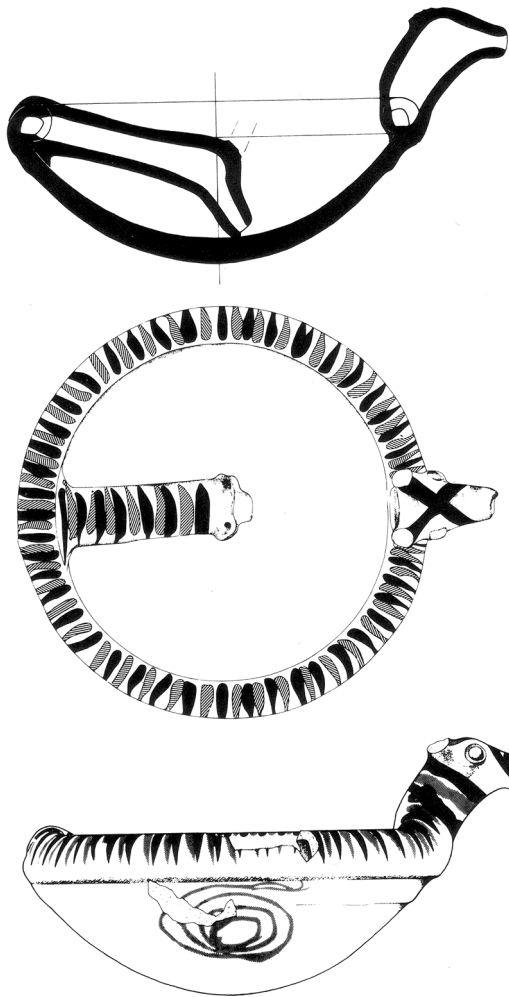


Figure 20: Kernos-bowl, Beth Shemesh. (T. Dothan 1982:fig. 4, 226)

is more oblong than round (A. Mazar 1980:106-108). Hollow-rim bowl fragments from Ashdod and Tel Qasile could also be further examples of kernos-bowls (Dothan 1971a:figs 58:29-30; Mazar 1980:fig 39b). The external bull's head served as a spout, whereas the internal

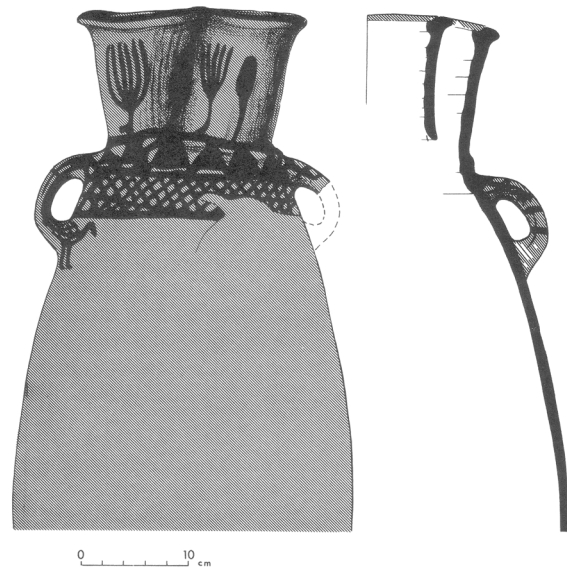


Figure 22: Cultic 'pot-plant,' Tel Qasile Stratum X. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 38)

slanted downward as if drinking from the bowl. If the outer spout were sucked, any liquid inside the bowl would be drawn into the hollow rim through the 'drinking' bull and out through the spout. The exact ritual function, however, is difficult to assess, though clearly designed for a form of libation.

Although libation vessels predominantly incorporate anthropomorphic and zoomorphic components, plants also play a role in the cultic repertory of Philistia. A composite libation vessel found in Tel Qasile's Temple 131 appears to incorporate figs, or possibly citrus fruit or pomegranates, into its form (Figure 21). The vessel is composed of a long tube with six elliptical, hollow fruit attached to the tube's base. The lack of parallels for this vessel may leave its exact function in doubt, though the communication between fruit and tube suggests a libation design (A. Mazar 1980: 104-105). The fertile symbolism of fruit and the vessel's recovery from within a temple confirm ritual association. Another plant-inspired vessel associated with

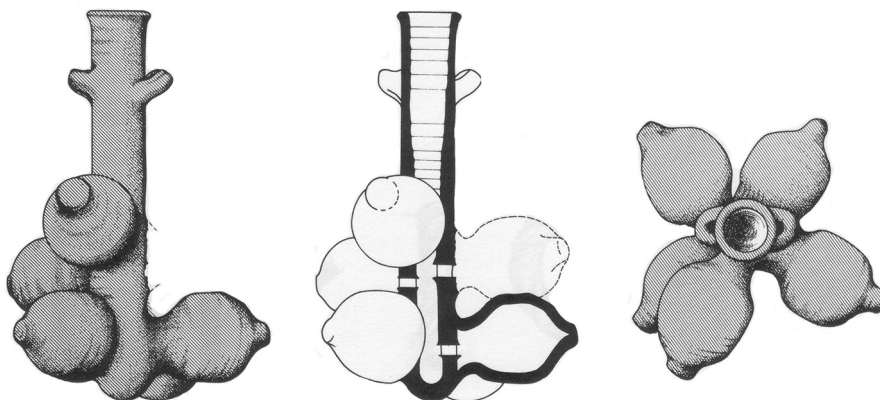


Figure 21: Composite libation vessel, Tel Qasile Stratum X. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 37)

libation was found close to the composite libation vessel. It is a large, two-handled jar with a neck composed of an inner cylinder (diameter 11 cm) and surrounded by four kidney-shaped openings (Figure 22). It has no known parallels. The neck's exterior is decorated with a schematic plant design of alternating open and closed papyrus, or lotus, plants, clearly of Egyptian inspiration. The exterior plant motif is rare on large vessels. A small stylized bird decorates the lower neck near one of the handles. The function is again difficult to assess, but is possibly a container for liquids or sacred plants, which could have been the focus of specific libation rituals.

Given that so many cultic vessels are associated with libation; breast-spouted woman, lion-headed cups, kernoi and kernos-bowls, this form of offering must have played a significant role within the liturgy of Philistia. Nevertheless, the exact nature of these libations and associated liquids still eludes us.

Cult Stands and Bowls

The cult stands found at Tel Qasile and Ashdod are similar to those found throughout the Near East and are known to be closely associated with ritual offerings and libations (A. Mazar 1980:87-96). The three high cylindrical cult stands found grouped together in Tel Qasile's Temple 131 (Figure 23) closely resemble two Palestinian stands from Late-Bronze and Early-Iron strata at Tel Shera (A. Mazar 1980: 93). This stand type (open-ended cylinders) is unknown in the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean-Cypriot worlds. The three Tel Qasile stands, therefore, clearly represent local cultic traditions. The decorative patterning, on the other hand, has no discernable parallel and may be a local innovation. Each stand was topped with a cult bowl, occasionally modelled after a bird (ornithomorphic) (Figure 24), which could be used to serve sacred meals. The horizontal-banded stand (Figure 23) most likely held the bird-shaped cult bowl (Figure 24) found lying near

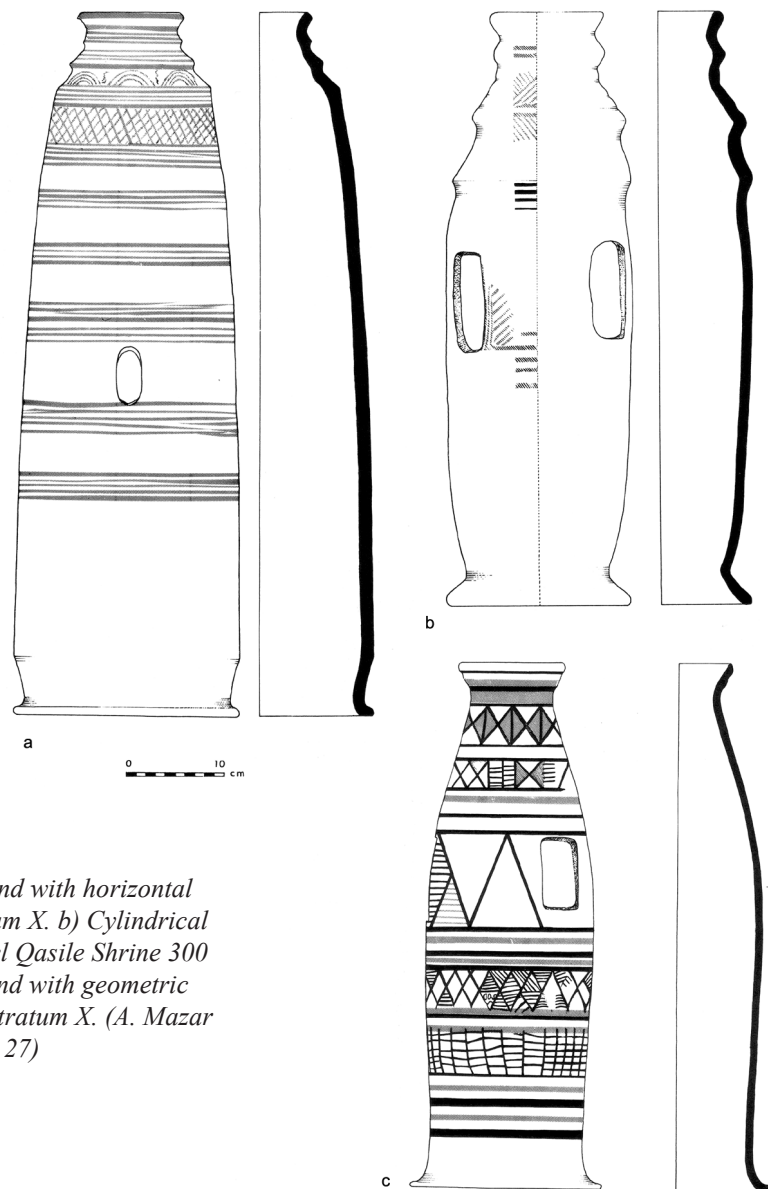


Figure 23: a) Cylindrical cult stand with horizontal bands, Tel Qasile Shrine 300 Stratum X. b) Cylindrical cult stand with worn decoration, Tel Qasile Shrine 300 Stratum X. c) Cylindrical cult stand with geometric decoration, Tel Qasile Shrine 300 Stratum X. (A. Mazar 1980:figs. 25, 26 & 27)

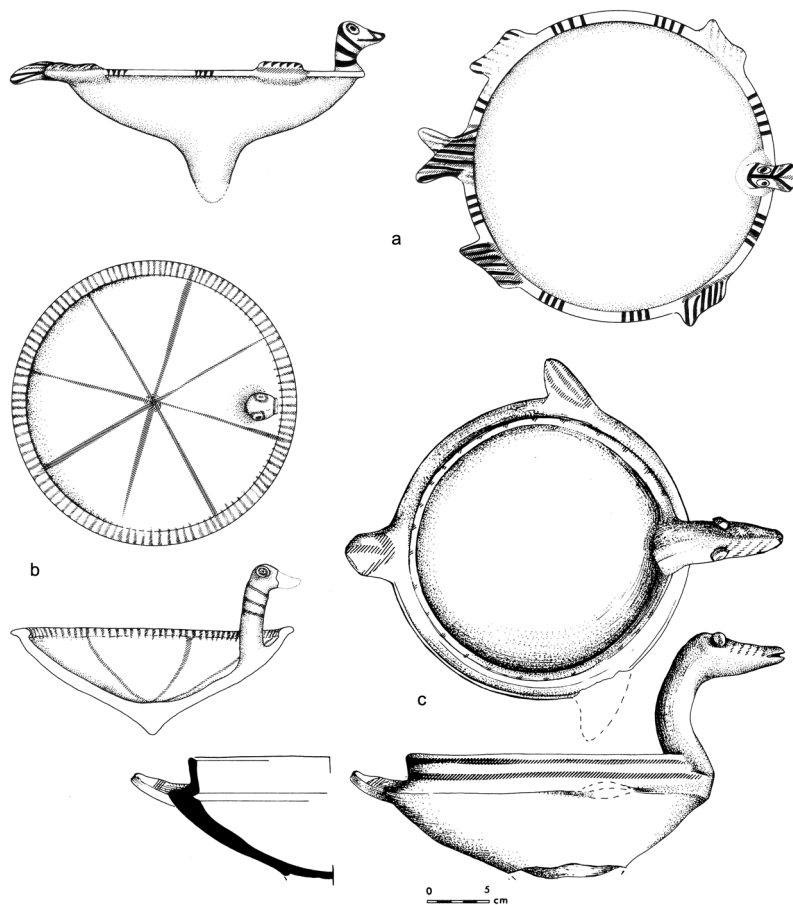


Figure 24: Bird-shaped cult bowls, Tel Qasile. a) Stratum X, b & c) Stratum XI-X, (A. Mazar 1980:figs 28, 29, 30 & 32)

its rim. Similarly, the stand found between the other two (Figure 23) probably held one of the two cult bowls found nearby, one again being ornithomorphic (Figure 24). Bird-shaped bowls have also been found at Ashdod, though the evidence there is more fragmentary (M. Dothan 1971a:figs 92.1-5). Representations of birds have a long history in the Aegean (Dothan and Dothan 1992: 51) and Near East

(Macalister 1911:121), and are well attested at many sites. Nevertheless, the continuous recurrence of the bird motif in different facets of Philistia's cultural practices is striking. Ornithomorphic bowls recall the bird motif common to 'Philistine Bichrome' pottery (Figure 25). Apparently birds, or bird-like traits, held significance for this culture, possibly iconographic, and was conceivably worshipped.

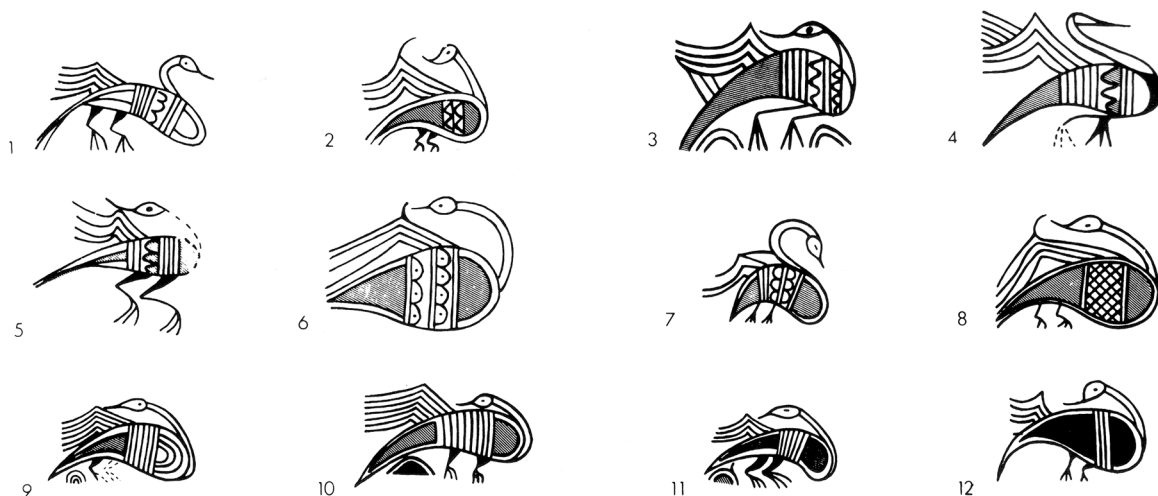


Figure 25: Philistine bird motif. (T. Dothan 1982:fig. 61, 201)

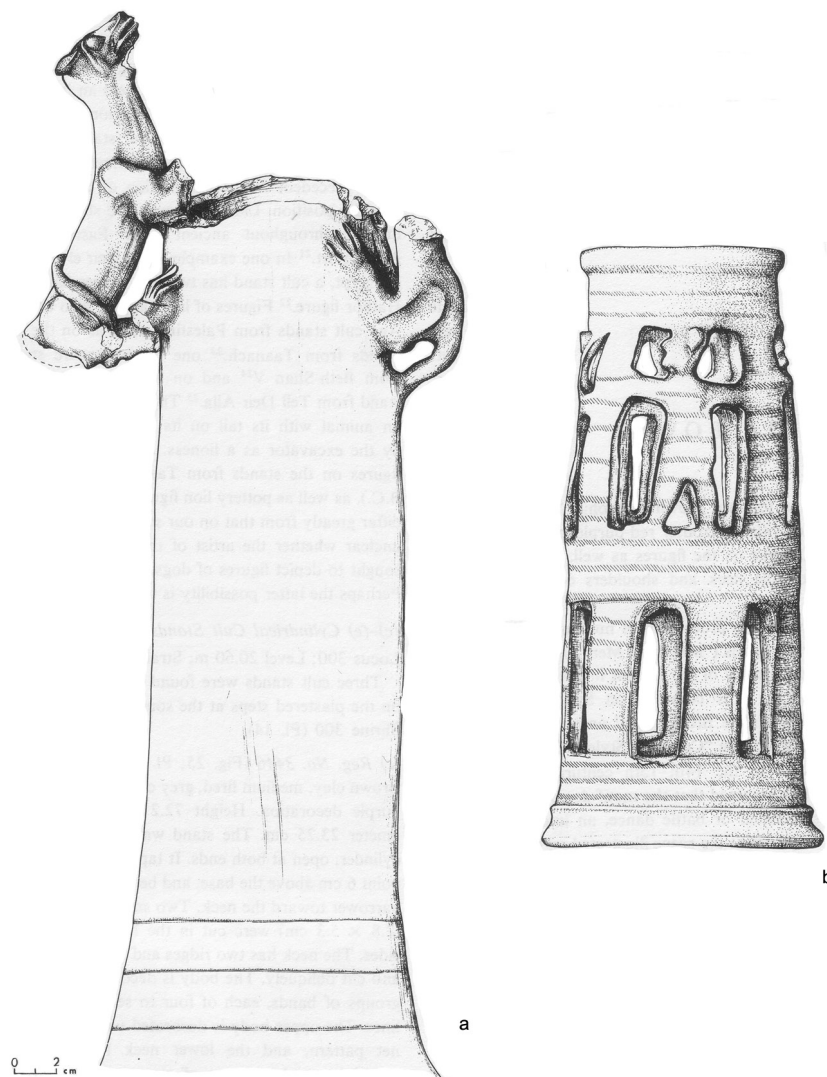


Figure 26: a) *Lionesses cult stand*, b) *Dancers cult stand*, Tel Qasile Stratum X. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 24 & 23)

A fourth cylindrical cult stand was recovered from Tel Qasile's Temple 131 bearing two animal figurines attached to the exterior rim (Figure 26). These animals, possibly lionesses, would have supported the stand's cult bowl (A. Mazar 1980:90). Though Near Eastern parallels exist for zoomorphic cult stands, this is the only known example from Philistia. A fifth cult stand from Temple 131 is ornamented with four human figures standing in procession with outstretched arms (Figure 26).

Rather than being modelled in the round and applied to the stand's cylinder, like the lionesses, the figures were created by cutting windows out of the cylinder's walls. The motif of a procession of human figures with outstretched hands ('marching men') is well known in the Levant and has been interpreted as a procession of cult dancers. Human representation on cult stands, however, is rare; with only two other examples existing, one of which is from

Ashdod. This so-called 'Musicians Stand' features five musicians and three animals parading around the stand's tall cylindrical body (Figure 26). Four of the musicians are modelled in the round and stand in window-like openings, whereas the largest was made in the same cut-out technique as the above 'Marching Men Stand'. Each of the figures plays a musical instrument which have been interpreted as cymbals, pipes, a drum (or tambourine?) and a lyre. Once again music and musicians are part of the liturgy and worship amongst the residents of Philistia. The presence of cult musicians recalls biblical reference to Philistine prophets whom Saul is instructed to seek (1 Samuel 10:5). Cult musicians, however, are not unique to 'Philistia'; Jerusalem had its share of Levite musicians in Solomon's temple (2 Chronicles 6:12; Psalm 68:24-25). Apparently music was an important component of cult and ritual meals within Philistia.

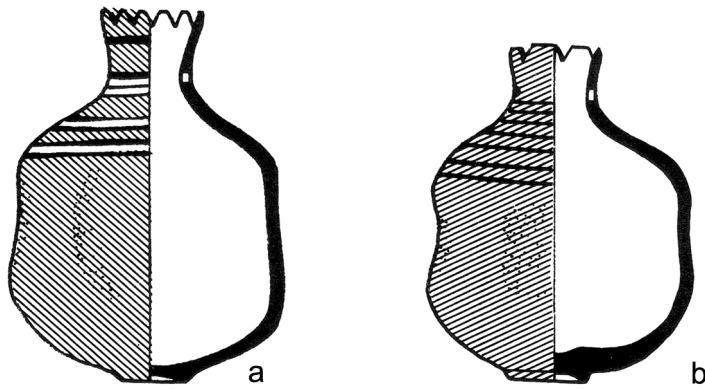


Figure 27: Pomegranate-shaped vessels, Tel Qasile. (A. Mazar 1980:fig. 46)

Other ceramic equipment

Two very distinct pomegranate vessels recovered from Tel Qasile (Figure 27), and a third from Ashdod, have cultic associations; pomegranates were a popular fertility motif within Late Bronze and Iron Age Egypt and Canaan (A. Mazar 1980:116). The two small holes pierced in each vessel's neck were for display, or possibly aided their ritual functional. Various zoomorphic figurines and vessels are also evident and confirm the prominence of animals within the cult. These figurines were possibly symbolic of particular deities or divine attributes. Animal figurines from Tel Qasile and Ashdod include horses,⁵³ horned ram-like animals,⁵⁴ dogs⁵⁵ and bears.⁵⁶ While the horse was a popular Aegean and Cypriot image, the dogs and bears are both unusual and difficult to parallel, especially considering their ambiguous features (Catling 1974). An incomplete ornithomorphic vessel found at Ashdod resembles the 'bird-rattle' recovered from the Gezer cache with its pierced back, designed for hanging, and askoid shape reminiscent of Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels (M. Dothan 1971a:fig 72.2; 1982: fig1.1,220; Furumark 1941: 67). The unusual form of this artefact makes its function difficult to determine.

In addition to libation and food offerings, votive offerings also played an important role in ancient cult. Numerous miniature vessels recovered from Tel Qasile, Ashdod and Ekron have been interpreted as votive vessels.⁵⁷ The use of miniature vessels for votive offerings in Near Eastern and Cypriot contexts is well documented (A. Mazar 1980: 117-118). A ritual interpretation is supported by the significant amount of luxury items deposited in the Tel Qasile temples, including beads and vessels of alabaster, ivory and metal. There are also huge concentrations of ceramic bowls within the Tel Qasile temples reflecting the deliberate deposition of certain goods; i.e. votive offerings (A. Mazar 1985a:24-30).

Other ceramic finds of cultic importance include the numerous loom-weights of unbaked clay found within the cultic buildings at Ekron, Ashdod and Ashkelon (T. Dothan 1990: 31; Dothan and Porath 1993; Stager 1995).

Reminiscent of loom weights found in Cypriot and Aegean temple precincts, these small cylinders are indicative of cultic weaving activities. Indeed weaving industries were often associated with temple precincts, either making vestments for the cult image or the priests (2 Kings 23:7). The discovery of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic mask fragments at Tel Qasile exemplifies the ritual costume and dress, and possibly drama. Similar human-face masks from Cypriot and Canaanite temples represent the worshipper's desire to enter into direct relationship with the deity; wearing a god's emblem would secure a divine experience (Karageorghis 1976:102-107). While anthropomorphic masks can be considered relatively common in the ancient near east, zoomorphic masks are rare. Some examples do exist; the Mesopotamian Humbaba masks (Barnett 1960:147-148), Cypriot bull-skull masks (Karageorghis 1971) and the Egyptian Bes masks (Wilson 1975), but any similarities are in nature, not style. The zoomorphic examples from Tel Qasile have been tentatively identified as representing lions.

Metal equipment

Despite the huge repertory of ceramic equipment, some metal artefacts have also been found to be associated with cult in Philistia. Miniature cast-bronze wheels recovered from Ekron and Tel Qasile have been identified as part of mobile cult stands (A. Mazar 1986:13-14; T. Dothan 1990:30). The tiny eight- and six-spoked wheels, from Ekron and Tel Qasile respectively, are unknown in Palestine. Instead, parallels are found in mobile cult stands and model chariots from Cypriot temple contexts (Figure 28) (Catling 1964:208-210). A fragment of cast-bronze frame, with a loop for the insertion of an axle, was also found near the small Ekron wheels. These small wheels constitute the first cases of mobile cult stands being found in Palestine documenting Cypriot influence on local cult.

Another metal artefact with possible cultic significance is the bronze axe-adze from Tel Qasile (Mazar 1985a:fig 1.1). While such implements are rarely considered cultic in nature, the recovery of this specimen from within a clear temple context implies a ritual function. This axe-adze is

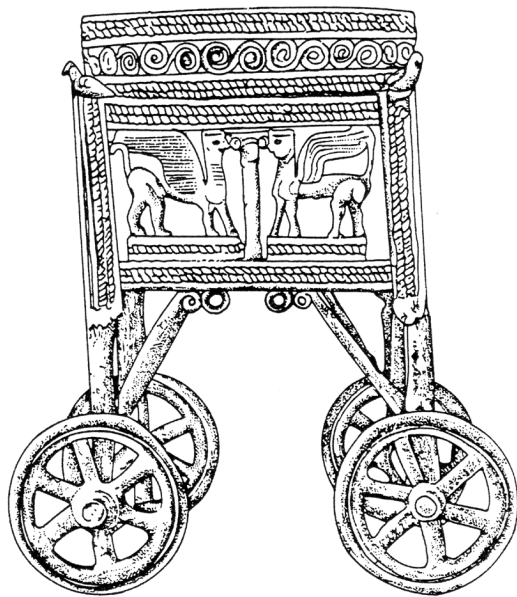


Figure 28: Cypriot mobile cult stand. (Dothan and Dothan 1992:249)

also often cited as an unmistakable indicator of an Aegean heritage for the people of Philistia; similar artefacts have been found in abundance throughout the Aegean. However, the origin and diffusion of this axe-adze type is not firmly established and may represent an eastern influence on the Aegean.

Knives were also among the metal artefacts recovered from the Tel Qasile and Ekron cultic contexts (T. Dothan 1990:28-31; A. Mazar 1985a:6-8). One Ekron example, an ivory ring-shaped pommel handle with traces of an iron blade, was found near the ritual burial of a decapitated puppy. The two others from Ekron were recovered from the subsidiary cult rooms of Building 350. The Ekron examples all have ivory handles attached to iron blades fastened by bronze rivulets (T Dothan 1995:fig 3.18). Though this knife type

is rare in the Levant, another example was found in Tel Qasile's Temple 319 (Mazar 1985a:fig 2.1). The elegant craftsmanship, exotic nature and notable context of these knives confirm their cultic associations. Bimetallic knives with ivory pommel handles have their closest parallels in Cypriot temples. Another similar knife was excavated at Perati on the Greek mainland, but there is associated with a funerary, rather than temple, context (Iakovidis 1984:90). All together the knives, mobile cult stands and axe-adze are important for understanding Cyprus influences upon Philistia.

Organic materials

In addition to manufactured metal and ceramic implements, organic materials were sometimes modified for ritual use. Several incised bovine scapulae (shoulder blades) were recovered from one of the Ekron shrines (Figure 29). Well-known from shrines in Cyprus, bovine scapulae are regularly associated with public divination rituals, oxen sacrifice and ritual musical instruments (Schaeffer-De Chalon 1971:258). Indeed, soothsaying and divination are known cult practices among the biblical Philistines (1 Samuel 6:2) and Ancient Near East (Brug 1985:183). The clear cultic function of incised bovine scapulae also indicates the relative importance cattle held amongst Ekron's Iron Age community (Hesse 1986:23-25). Two triton shells found in Tel Qasile's Temple 200 are also possibly associated with cult; the practice of using triton shells as horns is well known in Minoan cultic contexts (A. Mazar 1980:118). Nevertheless, the context of these two horns is ambiguous and, therefore, uninformative.

When re-considering the above cultic equipment as a whole, some tentative observations can be made regarding the nature of ritual across Philistia. While biblical references to Philistine gods portray a male pantheon, interestingly only female cult images have been recovered from sites within biblical Philistia. Nevertheless, the apparent discrepancy between the biblical and archaeological record is more informative than problematic. Music clearly played an important role, as evidenced by the Musician

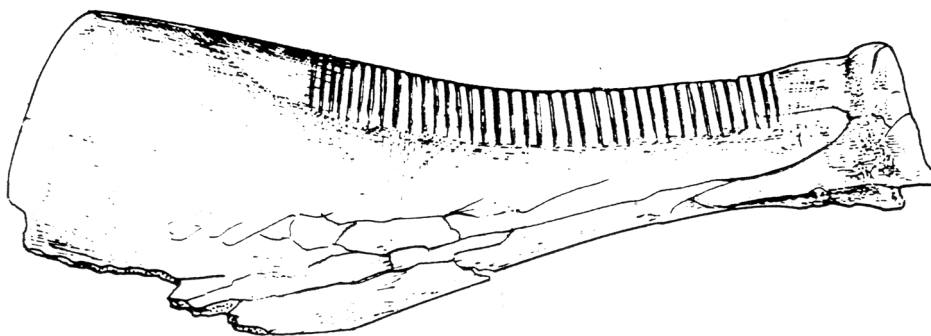


Figure 29: Incised bovine scapula, Ekron. (Dothan and Dothan 1992:242)

Stand, lyre-player seals, lyre-player figurine, incised bovine scapulae and conch-shell horn, with dramatic dance probably accompanying the music, as suggested by pottery masks and the Dancers Stand. Offering, in whatever form, was also prominent; note the abundance of votive vessels, cult stands, animal bones, libation vessels, luxurious deposits, broken figurines and metal knives. Fertility (pomegranates, breast-spouts, zoomorphic-spouts), birds (ornithomorphic bowls, pottery motifs) and cattle (scapulae, bull-head spouts) were also important motifs.

Concluding remarks

What was immediately discernible within the religion of Philistia, like 'Philistine Bichrome' pottery, was the syncretistic fusion of many different cultural elements. Religion here primarily incorporated public ritual and held a strong emphasis on participation. The use of sacrifice, offerings, musicians, dancing, meals and priests all confirm that collective participation was expected. Yet, despite these insights into outwardly visible aspects of local ritual, very little is known conclusively about the underlying belief systems. Ultimately theology is elusive, primarily because the material culture currently lacks written texts, but also because of the limited excavation of sites within the Philistia hinterland.

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Endnotes

- 1 Cf. Sandars (1978); T. Dothan (1982); A. Mazar (1985); Brug (1985); Bunimovitz (1990); Stone (1995); Stager (1995).
- 2 Cf. Gunneweg, Perlman, Dothan and Gitin (1986); T. Dothan (1957), 151; M. Dothan (1989); Dothan and Dothan (1992); A. Mazar (1985), 107; Singer (1985), 112; Bunimovitz (1990), 213; Stone (1995); Stager (1995), 332-5.
- 3 T. Dothan (1957); Raban (1991).
- 4 Cf. Bunimovitz (1990), 217; T. Dothan (1990), 27; Brug (1985), 66-135.
- 5 Cf. Bunimovitz (1990), 213; Wright (1959), 61; Sandars (1978), 167; Brug (1985), 212.
- 6 Childe (1929), v-vi.
- 7 Stone (1995), 8.
- 8 A. Mazar (1992a), 260-271.
- 9 Renfrew (1985), i.
- 10 A. Mazar (1980), 9-10, 21-8.
- 11 A. Mazar (1980), 24-28.
- 12 A. Mazar (1980), 33-43; (1973a).
- 13 A. Mazar (1973a), 47; (1985a), 131.
- 14 A. Mazar (1973a), 47.
- 15 Cf. A. Mazar (1992), 322; (1980), 65; Stern (1984), 32-3; Bunimovitz (1990), 214.
- 16 Brug (1985), 189.
- 17 A. Mazar (1980), 62; (1992), 319-320; (1992b), 182.
- 18 A. Mazar (1980), 68; (1992), 177; T. Dothan (1982), 251.
- 19 A. Mazar (1980), 73; (1992b), 179.
- 20 A. Mazar (1980), 70; Schaeffer-De Chalon (1971), 152.
- 21 A. Mazar (1980), 68; (1992b), 177.
- 22 A. Mazar (1980), 66; (1985a), 131; (1992), 320-1; Brug (1985), 189; Renfrew (1978); Negbi (1988), 347, 350-3.
- 23 A. Mazar (1980), 67-71; Schaeffer-De Chalon (1971), 152; Negbi (1988), 350.
- 24 A. Mazar (1980), 69; (1992b), 179-80; Stern (1984), 4-39; Negbi (1988), 353-4.
- 25 A. Mazar (1980), 67. Also, Cf. A. Mazar (1992b), 182; Bunimovitz (1990), 214; Negbi (1982), 179; (1988); Cadogan (1998), 8; Karageorghis (1976), 170; Brug (1985), 185-9.
- 26 A. Mazar (1980), 61; (1992b), 181; (1992), 255; Negbi (1988); Stern (1984), 31-6; Bunimovitz (1990), 214
- 27 A. Mazar (1992), 320-1.
- 28 A. Mazar (1985a), 120; B. Mazar (1951), 210.
- 29 Gitin and Dothan (1987), 202-4; T. Dothan (1990), 28, 47.
- 30 Cf. A. Mazar (1992), 319; Stager (1995), 346-7; T. Dothan (1990), 30; (1995), 44, 48.
- 31 A. Mazar (1986), 3-5; (1992b), 179; (1992), 319; Stager (1995), 347; T. Dothan (1995), 42; Gitin and Dothan (1987), 205; Brug (1985), 189; Cadogan (1998), 8; Karageorghis (1998), 279-80.
- 32 Stager (1995), 347; Karageorghis (1998), 277-8.
- 33 Gitin and Dothan (1987), 30; T. Dothan (1990), 30.
- 34 Dothan and Dothan (1992), 152, 166; T. Dothan (1982), 251.
- 35 M. Dothan (1989), 66; T. Dothan (1982), 41; Dothan and Dothan (1992), 150-153.
- 36 Stone (1995), 18-9; Dothan and Dothan (1992), 153; M. Dothan (1971), 161.
- 37 M. Dothan (1971), 161.
- 38 Dothan and Dothan (1992), 156; Brug (1985), 182.
- 39 Stager (1995), 346-7.
- 40 T. Dothan (1982), 21; Negev (1986), 45.
- 41 T. Dothan (1982), 21; Dothan and Dothan (1992), 11.
- 42 Renfrew (1985), 3, 413.
- 43 Stager (1995), 346; Dothan and Freedman (1967), figs 35.3; 43.5,7-9; 46.6-7; M. Dothan (1971a), figs 7.21-1; 36:10-1; 62.10; 63.2-7; 65.12-3; 75.1-2; 91.1-4; 103.8; Dothan and Porath (1993), figs 42.4-5; 44.11; 46.9; A. Mazar (1986), fig. 6.1.
- 44 Cf. Sandars (1978), 170; T. Dothan (1982), 234-8; (1984), 171; Brug (1985), 185-6; A. Mazar (1992), 323; (1992a), 275; Stone (1995), 18-9.
- 45 Stone (1995), 18-9.
- 46 A. Mazar (1986), 11-2; Stager (1995), 346; T. Dothan (1982), 234.
- 47 Holland (1977), figs 17-19, 154; Brug (1985); 186; Dothan and Freedman (1967), figs 43.7-9; 46.6-7; M. Dothan (1971a), figs 63.2-7; 75.1-2; 91.3-4; Dothan and Porath (1993), fig. 42.4.
- 48 T. Dothan (1982), 183-5.
- 49 A. Mazar (1986), fig. 6.2, 13; Dothan and Porath (1982), fig. 34.2, 169; Stone (1995), 19.
- 50 Renfrew (1985), 398, 413; Dikaios (1969a), pls 107.36-43; 131.28-9; 137.3-4; 170.2-3; Karageorghis (1976), pl. 65.
- 51 M. Dothan (1971).
- 52 Dothan and Freedman (1967), figs 35.9-10; 44.1-6; 45.1-7; 46.1; 47.4, 6-7; M. Dothan (1971a), figs 3.6; 66.9-13; 67.1-6; 68.1-6; 69.1-6; 70.1-7; 71.1-13; 75.4-5; 92.4, 8-9; 96.7-9; Dothan and Porath (1982), figs 11.9; 18.1; 28.1-2; 34.4-5; Dothan and Porath (1993), fig. 35.1; T. Dothan (1990), 28; Gitin and Dothan (1987), 204; A. Mazar (1980), fig. 40.
- 53 M. Dothan (1971a), figs 66.3, 4, 6; 89.4; A. Mazar (1980), fig. 43.
- 54 A. Mazar (1980), fig. 42a.
- 55 M. Dothan (1971a), figs 66.2; 92.8.
- 56 M. Dothan (1971a), fig. 66.1.
- 57 A. Mazar (1980), fig. 47, 117-8; (1985a), figs 44.17; Dothan and Porath (1982), fig. 6.1; (1993), fig. 46.8; T. Dothan (1990), 29.